6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

thing they could ever have imagined. It was the first time a stranger had learned to articulate the explosive vocables of their savage, noisy tribe.

Unlike Makiritari and Pemontòn, languages of Carib origin with very frequent aspirates, the Shirian tongue is chanted rather than spoken and possesses few aspirates. In all probability it is close to the fountain-head of all language—that is, a common-sense arrangement of sounds and chants—and it is more adapted to forest conditions, being 'howled', with the accent on the last syllable of the word, so that the sound echoes over a considerable distance.

The language is richer than might be supposed from the backwardness of the Indians who speak it. Later on, with Luis Antonio's help, I was able to complete a vocabulary of more than eight hundred words. The most surprising feature is that many of the words have an undeniable affinity with the Malayan language. One example is '*tuan*', the word (indifferently prefixed or suffixed) by which the Shirian refers to a man as such, differentiated from other forms of life or other things, and therefore implying a certain superiority, as in 'sir'. This is its exact equivalent in Malayan. Another example is '*pulipuli*' (moon), which is too close to the Malayan '*pulang*' for the similarity to be accidental. And so on.

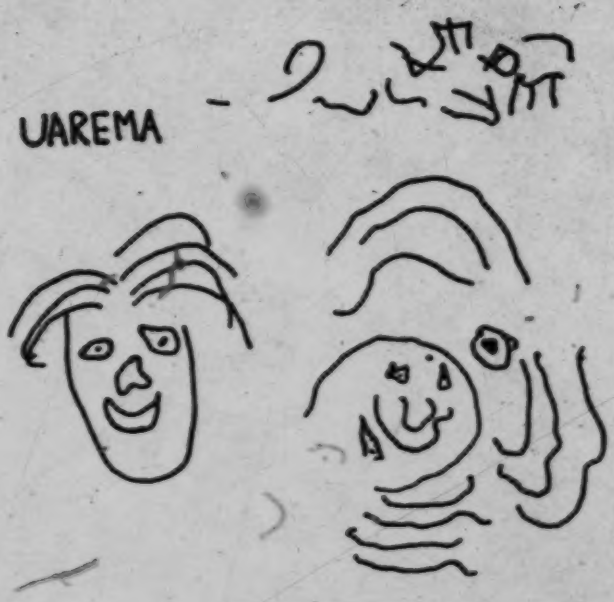
I profited from my stay with the Shirians by analysing some of their mental processes, their psychical reflexes and their reactions to conditioned phenomena such as come under the general heading of 'psychotechnics'. I had with me a few sheets of cardboard from the wrappings of my medical supplies, and a stub of pencil (lost for some time, this turned up in the possession of a good lady who was using it—with results that were hard to discern—as a cosmetic). I would write a word in very clear block letters, or I would draw a face, on one side of the sheet. Then I would give the pencil to a Samatari who had been following my actions with the closest interest and ask him to copy exactly what I had written or drawn.

I repeated this test several times, and some curious results were produced. They may contribute something of value towards the analysis of primitive mentalities, and I reproduce them opposite.

With this test, even at a first glance, we can make some contribution towards a definition of the Indians' mental processes, which are still at the stage where their intelligence is wholly analytical. They have not yet developed the power of synthesis, which comes later. This is clearly shown by the Shirian copies of the face. They render all the details, without, however, being able to unite them

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

into the proper shape, which means without the logical synthesis which gives them their definitive value. As with his analytical copy of the face, so the Shirian analyses the world in his thoughts about it, but forms no judgment on it, because to form a judgment would necessitate a higher power of synthesis that he possesses.



We now discovered that the Indians had chosen two very fine names for us, by which we were henceforth known. Enrico's was Ilòh—howling monkey, on account of his red beard and its obvious resemblance to the alouata's tawny coat. Mine was Walé—wild boar: my hide was apparently somewhat similar to the peccary's. We had a good laugh over the names and were pleased to be known by them, because it meant that at any rate we had been accepted as men like themselves, our beards being so much superstructure; we were just Indians or '*Sanemá*', which means 'people', to use the word the Shirians apply to themselves, the equivalent of the Makiritari '*Sota*'.

The fact that I was accepted by the Samateri as one of themselves has

847 562 162 Several kinds of demographic data suggest that the rate of female infanticide is high. Table 1 gives the sex ratios of five Yąnomamö villages. The sex ratio for the total population sample (576 individuals) gives a more meaningful estimate of the rate of female infanticide, as there is considerable variation by village in the value of the sex ratio. The excess of males in the total population (8%) gives a first 562 approximation of the frequency of female infanticide. The 162 628 722 variation in the sex ratio by the village, on the other hand, expresses the political relationships of the villages to [583] their allies. That is, the distribution of women in these five villages is a function of the military requirements of the particular villages in the marriage alliance network. Thus, the cline in sex ratio from Reyaboböwei-tedi to Bisaasi-tedi (ignoring the Patanowä-tedi, who are not allied to the other groups) reflects a dominance gradient in politico- • 125 847 162 628 562 military requirements of each village. The total sample of 576 individuals must be considered in order to estimate the frequency of female infanticide among the Yąnomamö, but the political relationships between the villages must be understood to account for the variation by village of the value

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

847 562 162 114 982 selves, it is highly unlikely that men will marry a FaSiDa, despite the kinship terminology. Rose did not, however, consider the possibility that sibships may have a systematic bias in their composition; if males tend to be older than their sisters considering all sibships, the probability that a FaSiDa is of marriageable age is increased. I specifically questioned the relationship between female infanticide and FaSiDa marriage, and the Yąnomamö denied any correlation between the two practices. There can be no doubt, however, that the occurrence of FaSiDa marriage among the Yąnomamö is made more probable by female infanticide.

10:Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mǫmaribŏwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Mŏwŭraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mǫmaribŏwei-tedi and the Reyabobŏwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Mŏwŭraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

[1] See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawŭ-tedi."

These figures represent a *sample* of marriages in the two villages. The sample consists of all married males who are thirty-five years old or younger. The sample was chosen in this fashion because the analysis of the marriage types depends on genealogical information covering several generations. By selecting only the younger men the analysis can be quite easily undertaken. In Patanowã-teri there were 38 men of this category, many of whom had multiple wives. A man with four wives, therefore, represents four marriages. In Lower Bisaasi-teri only 10 married men were below thirty-five years of age and accounted for the seventeen marriages. If all the men were included, the analysis would be inaccurate because I do not have adequately long genealogies for some of the oldest men. Up to 1940, the villages of Patanowã-teri and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not separate entities; they separated from each other at about that time. Patanowã-teri is a large and powerful village, containing 212 people. Lower Bisaasi-teri, with only 51 people, is militarily dependent on several of its allies.

Four types of marriages are shown in Table 3–2. The term prescriptive refers to the kinds of marriages described in Fig. 3–2. An incestuous marriage is defined as a man marrying a woman of his own patrilineage (or his mother or niece reckoned through his mother's side of the family). Marriages resulting from either alliance or abduction have been lumped into a single category because they represent the recruitment of spouses from outside the group. Finally, a few marriages are unexplainable in terms of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage equations; these represent marriages between members of distinct lineages that have recently entered into exchanges with each other.

As can be seen from Table 3–2, there is a major difference between the two villages in the proportion of prescriptive marriages on the one hand and alliance marriages on the other. In short, the Patanowã-teri follow their marriage prescriptions far more rigorously than do the Lower Bisaasi-teri. This is so because Patanowã-teri, a much larger village, does not need to enter into marriage alliances with its neighbors; it is politically and militarily capable of an autonomous existence. Most of the alliance-abduction marriages in Patanowã-teri are, in fact, abductions; in Bisaasi-teri most of them are alliance marriages. Therefore, the relative frequency of alliance-type marriages is much lower for Patanowã-teri than for Lower Bisaasi-teri. This difference in marriage behavior stems from the relative abilities of the two groups to maintain military autonomy in a milieu of chronic warfare, a quality that is largely a function of the size of the group. The members of a militarily vulnerable village will breach the marriage prescriptions in order to establish political alliances with neighboring groups by ceding women to them.

TABLE 3–2
MARRIAGE TYPES IN PATANOWÃ-TERI AND LOWER BISAASI-TERI

	Patanowã-teri	Lower Bisaasi-teri
1. Prescriptive	37	7
2. Incestuous	4	1
3. Alliance and/or abduction	8	9
4. Unexplained	3	0
Totals:	52	17